3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OE17 Muragia OE17

be gathered only by the *dua* men who give it to those of the opposite moiety. Yellow, *hadangul*, and black, *tjunapul*, come from localities near Gurunga.[43] The collection of the yellow pigments is associated with a ceremony in which men of the *jiritja* moiety only can take part. The *jiritja* distribute these pigments to the *dua* men.

At Oenpelli, most of the colours are obtained by trade. The best red ochre, *gunaitdai*, comes from a totemic place, Widitjan, about eight days journey south. If this ochre is in short supply, the aborigines use an inferior local ochre. For white, the aborigines use a stone, *outjain* (unidentified), which they first grind into a paste and, when it is partly dry, mould into small cakes. In this form, the pigment is traded over long distances. The yellow ochre, *mangarurum*, which is soft and easily ground, comes from some unidentified place to the far south. I did not gather any details about the source of the black, called *manmai-jangarin*. Apparently it is in short supply because it is rare in both the bark and cave paintings of the Oenpelli area.

Throughout Arnhem Land the pigments are ground, with water, on rough flat stones. One stone is generally reserved for the white pigment. Cockle and small bailer shells are often used as paint pots. Both Tindale[44] and Spencer[45] state that the aborigines mix their pigments to get different shades. At the time of my visit to Groote Eylandt, Yirrkalla and Oenpelli the aborigines were not mixing their colours, the different pebbles of red and yellow ochres accounting for the varying shades of red and yellow in the paintings.

(ii) FIXATIVE

The juice of one of the tree orchids (*Dendrobium* sp.) is used by the Arnhem landers as a fixative on both the bark and the cave paintings. The orchid bulb is cut in halves, broken slightly by chewing, and, in the Oenpelli and Yirrkalla areas, rubbed directly on the bark or rock surface, or in Groote Eylandt, mixed with the colour on the grinding stone. This method of holding the colour is effective as long as the pigments are applied thinly; if not, they tend to flake off.

(iii) BRUSHES

The aboriginal artists of Arnhem Land use three kinds of brushes:

(a) A narrow strip of bark, chewed at one end (Fig. 3F). This is held as in Fig. 3C and used for the broad lines.

(b) A cylindrical stick (Fig. 3E), about three thirty-seconds of an inch in diameter, and three inches long, which has the end slightly burred. With this the artist makes the dots. The brush is tapped on the grinding stone to load it with colour, which is transferred to the painting with the brush held as shown in Fig. 3B.

43. See myth of Gurunga, p. 371.
44. Tindale (1930), p. 117.
45. Spencer (1928), p. 702.

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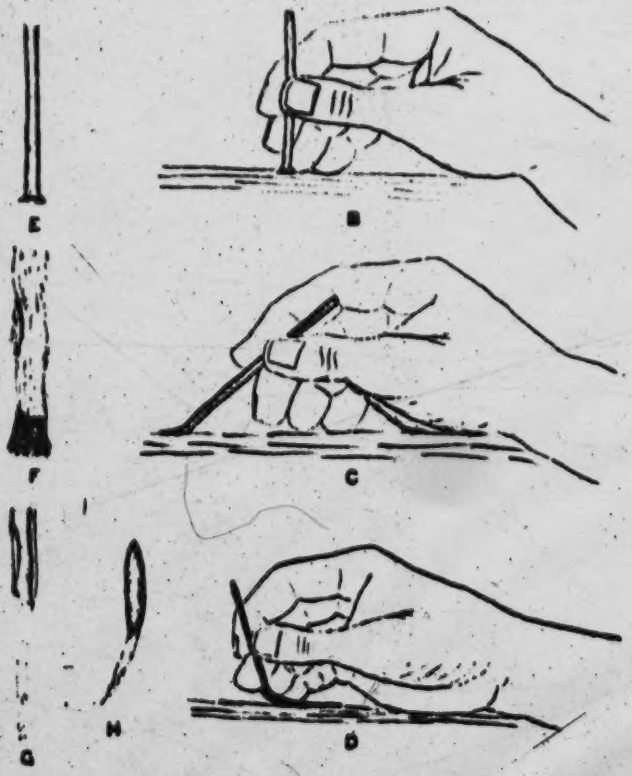
(c) The third brush, made either from a few fibres of a palm leaf (Fig. 3G) or a small feather (Fig. 3A) demands considerable skill in its use. It is long and flexible, resembling the lining brush used by coach painters and sign-writers.



Jean Truran

FIG. 3. Techniques and tools of bark and cave painting

The brush is held delicately between the fingers, as in Fig. 3D, and drawn away from the body. The fine cross-hatching and lining in the north-eastern art, and the broken and parallel lines of Groote Eylandt, are all made with this brush. It is called *murait* by the Oenpelli people.[48] The skill which the aborigines have achieved in the use of this brush is remarkable. Pl. 155A of Orion and the Pleiades is a good example.

48. Pl. 30 shows an aboriginal painting with this brush.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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bodies. This glue is obtained by cutting a vein in the arm, painting the blood on the skin and adding feathers before it congeals. Paint brushes are made from human hair or from twigs.

I remember watching Wonggu mix his colours in shells, flatten his bark, and prepare his orchid gum. Only then did he realize that he needed a brush, so he leaned over and cut a tuft of hair from his son's head, bound it to a twig and commenced his mural.

A well-known anthropologist stayed with us at Yirrkala and obtained a big selection of aboriginal arts and crafts and bark paintings. He paid the Yulengor well, and they gave full play to their ingenuity, manufacturing such things as bows and arrows which, incidentally, are not used by aborigines. I saw several paintings in the collection in the usual red, yellow, white, and black, together with an additional vivid blue. Not having seen blue before, I could not account for it till later in the day my wife chanced to remark that several of her blue-bags had disappeared.

Body decorations are made by mutilating the skin, and one pleasing mutilation resembles a string of beads on a woman's breast, where each bead is a raised nodule of flesh about the size of a pea. Women and girls sear a pattern on the skin with firesticks, and rub pipeclay into the wound; a more common practice is to cut the marks into the flesh before filling them with clay. For reasons of vanity and custom, a woman has a few cicatrices across her hips, and possibly on her shoulders, and in the event of sorrow she adds some to her midriff. If a brother should die, a sister paints horizontal lines across the backs of her legs below the knees, and when his bones are being collected she substitutes gashes for her clay markings.

It was explained that a man gets a friend to cut the customary perpendicular lines from his shoulder and halfway to his elbow, but he himself makes the more important

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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marry only into another specified malk. Animals and birds assigned by the Women to the malk were accepted as the insignia or 'djungoin' of those marriage-groups.

The earthly paradise on the round hill kept the Women occupied in naming and distributing fauna, and in inaugurating the famous Gunabibee ceremony in which the story of their work and adventures is preserved. In decorating themselves and their totems for the ceremony, they began the present-day practice of drawing their own blood and smearing it over their bodies as an adhesive for the birds'-down so often applied now in strikingly effective designs. Blood is taken by a process suggestive of barbarism and scientific knowledge of blood circulation. In west Arnhem Land string is tied above the elbow of the donor, who closes his hand and alternately bends and straightens his arm till the veins show up. One of these is nicked with a shell or spear-head, and by bending and relaxing the arm the blood is pumped into a bark container. To seal the wound the tourniquet is removed, and a boll from the cotton tree is dabbed over the opening. Half a pint of blood may be removed, and the donor and his friends unconcernedly paint it over their bodies with fibre or human-hair brushes. Before it congeals they apply birds' feathers.

In time the younger of the two Sisters realized that, for reasons unspecified, she was about to give birth to a child. Consequently they searched for a good camp site and found one near a lagoon. After the fashion of women, they had fossicked during the day for food, and had also gathered sheets of paper-bark to cover their hut, so that by the time they came to the lagoon they were loaded down with rolls of bark, and their dilly-bags bulged with yams, goannas, and animals.

The older Woman built the hut and bent sticks into a dome, resembling the ribs of an umbrella, and covered these with bark. Meanwhile, her sister went to the lagoon for